1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

584 836 431 733 services. Today an intermediary is looked upon by stricter parents with scorn as one who aids and abets intrigues, but there is no reason to assume that he was similarly regarded in former times. The gifts exchanged between lovers are tapu, to be used by the lovers alone. Another who wittingly or unwittingly wore *wakatapu* clothes or ate *wakatapu* food would be committing a disgraceful act (*luma*) termed *kai wakatapu*. The punishment for breaking this tapu is boils on the body and swellings over the eyes. Thus if the father of a family commits adultery and receives gifts of food from his mistress which he allows his children to eat, his children will suffer from sickness. Informants suggested that this is a good explanation for the incidence of hereditary ulcers and swellings that seem to visit successive generations of certain Pukapukan families, though they were unable to rationalize the fact that the gifts were dangerous to outsiders in the first instance.

837 733 164

MARRIAGE

595 587 Monogamy is the rule in marriage. In those exceptional cases of contemporary sororate or levirate, only the sibling with whom a person first lived was considered the married mate. Of the plural wives of individual men in the genealogies, informants stated that they were successive. Only one story collected concerns a polygamous man of Pukapuka (1). As divorce was easily achieved, the stimulus to polygamy which might otherwise have come from the desire for issue was not great, nor was the status of chiefs sufficiently elevated to provide an economic incentive for polygamy.

582 613 The paternal lineage (*po*) and sub-lineage (*wakavae*) are nominally neither endogamous nor exogamic. (See table 8.) Closeness of blood relationship, which depends on the numerical size of the lineage, is the limiting factor in intra-lineage marriage.

Table 8. Intermarriage Between Paternal Lineages[1]

	Ngake		Loto		Yato		
	Matanga	Muliwutu	Yangalipule	i Tua	Yalongo	Yayi	Yamaunga
Matanga, Ngake	9	5	2	6	1	—	—
Muliwutu, Ngake	4	—	3	5	—	1	—
Yangalipule, Loto	1	—	—	—	—	1	—
i Tua, Loto	5	1	2	1	—	—	—
Yalongo, Yato	—	—	3	—	—	4	—
Yayi, Yato	5	2	2	4	2	3	—
Yamaunga, Yato	1	1	—	—	—	1	—

[1] Table 8 shows the amount of inter- and intra-lineage marriage in households which came within the census. The boxes indicate inter-marriage between the paternal lineages of each village.

582 recorded in the census were between persons belonging to the same maternal
613 lineage. Inter-sub-lineage marriages show no special preference when the numerically larger size of some of the lineages is considered (table 9). The six irregular, incestuous intra-lineage marriages occur within the three largest sub-lineages, two each in *keinanga* Yelu, Kava, and Kati.

121 From census figures based on village residence of mates prior to marriage, rather than on official village membership, it appears that there is a slight tendency toward intra- as against inter-village marriage, though it is not clear that there is any sociological factor influencing this tendency.

162 Of a total of 218 adults covered by the census, who are of marriageable
587 age, 30 are at present unmated. Of these unmarried adults, 10 are widows, 7 widowers, 3 divorcés, 4 divorcées, 4 very old spinsters, 2 bachelors well past the marrying age. The marital status of 147 people is given below:

	Once Married	Twice Married	Thrice Married	Total
Males	54	18	—	72
Females	53	21	1	75

Of 66 marriages functioning at present, 41 are between mates whose only marriage is the present one. Twenty-five marriages are between persons of whom one or both have been previously married. Types of marriages in this category and the number of each are:

Single man with widow, 5; single man with divorcée, 4; single woman with widower, 3; single woman with divorcé, 3; widower with widow, 5; widower with divorcée, 1; divorcé with widow, 2; divorcé with divorcée, 1; single man with widow-divorcée, 1. Of these 25 marriages, 16 are those in which a previously unmarried person mated with someone previously mated. It thus appears that a previous marriage terminated by divorce or death is no bar to remarriage with a previously unmated person.

Restrictions

582 Persons related by blood may not marry unless they are of the third gen-
588 eration removed from the common ancestor. Individuals in the relationship of cousin-in-avoidance (*wale atua*) may not marry so long as the common ancestor is remembered. On the whole island five marriages between cousins-in-avoidance are known, a very small percentage of the total number of marriages. One of the six irregular intra-sub-lineage marriages is also a marriage between cousins-in-avoidance and thus represents double incest. The attitude of the community to these incestuous marriages is discussed elsewhere (p. 263).

595 There is no pattern of contemporary sororate. Occasionally a man lives
587 at one time with two women who are sisters. Such a man is referred to as *tangata kai wale* (house eater), a term of reproach and ridicule, applied also to one who commits incest. No rule governs successive sororate. The mar-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

595 587 riage of a man to his deceased wife's sister might be desired and actively encouraged by her family if he was regarded as a good man, a hard worker, a skilled fisherman, and one worth keeping attached to the family. Similar remarks apply to the levirate. A woman living at one time with two brothers is termed *nonoa kai mate*. Informants believed that the woman and the brother not her husband would both die early deaths as punishment for the sin. In successive levirate, if the deceased husband had been generous (*atawai*) to them, the widow's family would urge her to marry the deceased's brother.

Personal Choice of Mate

581 Informants suggested that the following qualities were desirable when choosing a wife: beauty of body, breeding certainties, industry and skill at crafts, wealth in taro gardens and coconut trees. Some felt that obedience and a good reputation were important, others that an industrious and fruitful wife was a better choice than any other. Veti regarded it as immaterial how fruitfulness is proved, whether by a man's own effort or by the efforts of another lover and in this he expresses general opinion.

581 821 832 The cultural ideal of beautiful womanhood is in terms of averages only. The ideal has: eyes wide apart, a high nose, small firm breasts, a well filled-out body, medium thick lips, and curly or wavy hair. Add to these an average height (a short stature according to western standards), a physically strong and powerful body, light brown skin with an abundance of whitish *tinea* marks, and the ideal is complete. A man or a woman who is trying to win a mate will often make special efforts to beautify the body and to appear industrious, hoping that appearances will help to make the desired mate more sympathetic to the suit. This is termed *wakakuma*.

Wedding

584 Formal courtship having been initiated by *wakatapu* gifts of food, ornaments, and other articles of value, marriage is discussed between the two young people.

583 585 831 When an agreement is reached, the matter is referred to their relatives. If both groups are agreed, the young man goes one evening to the girl's house, sleeps there with the girl, and stays until morning (*wakamalowa*). From his presence in the girl's household in the early morning, the people of the village know that the marriage (*wakanonga*) is accomplished. A young man not intending marriage might sleep with a girl in her house at night but would leave before dawn; this is called *tangotonga* and does not imply any obligations on either side.

584 A man set on marrying a girl who at first refuses him makes frequent and regular presents of fish, nuts, taro, even fishhooks, to her parents, and helps them at every opportunity in house building, canoe making, etc. The parents soon realise his object. They talk to their daughter, telling her she ought to marry the man. If the girl refuses, they give her a thrashing, saying that as they have accepted all the presents, they will be shamed before the whole island if she does not pay back this [illegible]. Willing or